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I M P A R T I A L A N S W E R
T O T H E
D O C T R I N E

Delivered in a LETTER, which appeared
in the PUBLIC ADVERTISER, on the
19th of DECEMBER 1769,

UNDER THE SIGNATURE J U N I U S.

BY C H A R L E S F E A R N E,
OF THE INNER TEMPLE.

Quamquam animus meminisse horret luctuque refugit
Incipiam; ——————

L O N D O N :

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T O T H E

R E A D E R.

TH E author of the following pages, sensible that nothing can be more easy, than to assert on the one hand, and deny on the other, as may best answer the opposite purposes of contending parties; whereas the reasonable proofs of such political facts, or their motives, which may be adduced under a general vague description, must on either side be exceedingly precarious and difficult; hath therefore confined himself to doctrines only; except in some ex-
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traordinary circumstances of Mr. Wilkes's character, which, as they rest upon the authority of Junius himself, he presumes few readers will dispute the truth of. As to anything farther, he candidly confesses himself, neither to possess testimonies sufficiently incontrovertible, to prove what he might advance; nor impudence enough to expect credit, on the strength of his own bare assertions, for the truth of such facts, upon which he might be desirous of arguing.

Hoc teneo, hic hæreo, judices,
hoc sum contentus uno; omitto ac
negligo cetera: suâ confessione in-
duatur ac juguletur, necesse est.

CIC. in ver. 166.

A N

IMPARTIAL ANSWER, &c.

WHEN the pestilent seeds of turbulent clamour, sown amongst a generous and free people by the desperate insolence of a late profligate outlaw; cherished by the combined efforts of misrepresentation, calumny, and falsehood, in subservience to the mischievous views of a party, discontented because unemployed; have ripened at length to that dangerous degree of licentious spirit, either through the too

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great lenity of a First Magistrate, or the unaccountable supineness of his ministry; that a pen-pert tool of antiministerial faction, exasperated at the silent contempt with which a grossly-insulted minister hath treated the vilest attacks on his private, and most insolent invectives against his public character; that such a man, I say, impatient of his want of consequence, or of abilities sufficient to accomplish the black purpose of his passion, and destitute of any other means to cover the impotency of his former virulence, but in the enormity of his subsequent presumption; dare venture the last sacrifice to disappointed pride; and at one precipitate breach through the boundaries of justice, decency, duty, nay of allegiance itself,

itself, assail a generous and well-intentioned Sovereign of a brave and free people, in a stile teeming with the monstrous forms of dictates, ridicule, insult, and menaces ; when any one can dare this, heaven forbid it should be matter of speculation to consider, if an honest man were to meet him, in what terms he would accost him. That must be a moment at which every true member of society would feel himself roused to such a sense of difficulty and danger, as could no longer suffer his peaceful soul to be deceived by the false assertions of dreadful discontented faction, nor generous simplicity itself to be misled by the artful clamour of the foulest exaggeration. We will suppose them met ; the honest man wav-

ing all forms of ceremony, and having surmounted the first difficulty of suppressing the generous warmth with which his pulse would beat upon the occasion, would deliver himself with a constrained coolness scarcely void of indignation.

SIR,

B EING informed that you are the eminent champion of discontent, who, to the fearful amazement of every reasonable member of society, have sallied forth, and exposed yourself to public view in a character hitherto unknown to this constitution, and in direct violation of this, as of every system of government on earth, have dared to exercise an authority paramount to the supreme

supreme power of the state expressly vested by the collective voice of the people, confirmed by every law of the constitution, and established by the successive acquiescence of ages ; finding, in short, that you have assumed the unheard-of and tremendous authority of inquisitor and comptroller-general of the public conduct, policy, interest, and principles, of the supreme magistrate of this country ; it were pertinent to demand a sight of the warrant which can have intitled the person of a secreted individual to the unprecedented execution of so despotic a control : in order to be securely satisfied of the validity of that foundation upon which we are called upon to transfer our obedience and civil

dependance, from the present supreme magistracy to a newly constituted power of superior extent. However, as I conceive it would be violence to the faintest dawn of common sense, to suppose or to acknowledge any power on earth adequate to the delegation of a commission so fraught with the excesses of inconsistency and destruction, so immediately, so radically subversive of that reciprocal confidence betwixt a sovereign and his people, which is equally necessary to the security of the first, as to the peace and prosperity of the latter ; I therefore shall spare the needless demand, and attack you as the self-created minister of our intended ruin ; as that mischievous ill-brooding being, who malignantly exulting in
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a union of the most consummate assurance, with a singular talent of well sounding sophistry, hath arrogantly attempted, in the very face of open day, to inveigle his inoffensive countrymen into the pernicious snares of a control so dangerous and fatal in its tendency, as to strike immediately (God forbid effectually) at the root of that free subordination, that salutary poize of government, to which every Briton of whatever rank, degree, or occupation, stands indebted for every tittle of his freedom, security, prosperity, and every other the minutest circumstance which distinguisheth the free-born Briton from the Turkish slave, or can render existence itself the object of one poor wish.

Whilst

Whilst we are actuated by a due respect for government; from a firm and salutary persuasion, that the protection of every individual's person against the superior violence of offended pride, together with the security of his possessions from the rapacious hands of wanton avarice or need, must ever unalterably depend on the same thread with the beneficial power lodged in the hands of magistracy; so long may the honest inhabitant of this country, speaking of his possessions, say (within the general limits of human certainty) *hæc nostra voco, this is my property*; because so long there will be laws to which he may appeal for the redress of injuries, and magistrates clad with authority sufficient to enforce the effectual

effectual execution of them. But should there at any time arise a puissant brandisher of periods, of address sufficient to infect the restless minds of his countrymen with the sweet-flowing poison of an artful pen; and to destroy every ligament of union betwixt one subject and another, every bond of mutual dependance betwixt individuals and their magistrates, by sowing, fomenting, and multiplying groundless distrusts in the beguiled breasts of an unguarded multitude: one who should so far accomplish his pernicious ends, as to procure himself the anarchical credit of superintendant and clerk of the check to government, to sovereignty itself, under the specious and insidious artifices of separating the cause of the people

B from

from that of their prince, and insolently stepping forth the public exclaimer of the first against the fictitious ill designs of the latter. Should such a fatal circumstance ever come to pass, adieu to all the boasted distinctions betwixt an inhabitant of Asiatic climes and a free-born British subject. Then would magistracy itself and opposition to magistracy center in one point; and the supreme authority be no where found but in the grossest turns of the loudest declamation, and most insolent menaceful abuse of inanimated government. Vain and impertinent would be the voice of complaint; when a people should find themselves destitute of that assistance, that protection in magistracy; which their own folly, in becoming the deluded apostates to all

all decency and subordinate respect, hath first deprived it of the power to afford them. When such an insolent control on the legislative and executive authority of this kingdom shall be suffered ; at that period will many, to their fruitless sorrow, lament the fatal necessity of sacrificing their freedom to their interest ; and conspicuously happy will be the subject, who shall excel in the fortunate talents of flattering the vanity, administering to the whims, and cringing to the dreadful brow of our new dictator : whilst the miserable wretch, whose spirit never was born to such compliance, must tamely bear the mortifying necessity, of seeing legislation itself suspended or reversed, and the supreme magistracy annihilated, at the menaceful word of our indig-

nant master To his decisive voice must we then refer ; and await the mighty signal of his pleasure to direct, us whether, as a free people, we ought at any particular juncture *only* to withdraw the obedience due from subjects to their prince, from people to the government under which they exist ; or bravely face about under the banners of *glorious* sedition. Where shall we then look for the man who will have it in his power to say, “ this “ belongs to me : this is my pro-“ perty : ” until the imperious assent of the great comptroller general, hath first ratified those decrees of law, and those determinations of the bench, which the natural constitution of this country would heretofore have esteemed incontrovertably decisive ?

That

That such would be the hopeful consequences accruing to every subject of his majesty's dominions, if Junius's newly-attempted dictatorship were admitted ; I should conceive it an unpardonable insult offered to the understanding of my fellow-subjects, were I to go about to prove : abstracted positions may stand in need of illustration ; but an attempt to demonstrate the necessary deductions of every man's daily experience, would be but labouring to clad evidence itself in the cloak of artificial doubt.

Thus, Junius, having traced the general nature of your conduct ; I shall next indulge my astonishment at the ridiculous arrogance of a man ; who could entertain so contemptuous, so mean an opinion of

the understanding or spirit of his fellow-citizens, as to flatter himself they would tamely swallow a train of the most unparalleled and injurious insults to their plainest senses, on the single score of receiving them decked with the gilded trappings of specious-sounding words. Children, as Junius may esteem his countrymen ; dupes, as he may consider them to the modulation of his tuneful stile ; I am confident they are above the necessity of being reminded, that the man who assumes the voice of the people, in order to impel or intimidate the supreme magistrate ; must mean in that very attempt to supersede the decree, which vested a sovereignty in the hands of that magistrate, superior to any private authority in his dominions ; and pronounced him

him their sole ruler and guardian, independently of any other limits or control soever, than the great frame of the constitution itself, and the established edicts of its august laws. Junius himself must admit the decree which did so, could have been no other than the general, publickly-proclaimed voice of the people : answer me then ; if an attempt to supersede the confess, solemn declaration of a people, in the pretended tone of the same people's voice, must not be allowed one of the boldest strokes of the most guileful, sound-contorting sophist ? This, however, is offered as a doctrine to be digested by reasonable creatures ; certainly, Junius, you mistook the rank of beings you were speaking to. Can there be so great a master at *welding*

ing together absurdities into consistent union; as to perswade himself a people, who so spiritedly refuse a man one vote amongst five hundred in the direction of their affairs, because he had only a minority of legal electors in his favour; should nevertheless be prevailed upon to admit a self-intruded Junius, to an authority equal to the annihilation of their five hundred representatives taken together; notwithstanding *he* wants even a minority of legal constituents, nay a single unity itself to support his *mysterious* election? In a stile perfectly correspondent to this, we are told, It is his majesty's misfortune never to hear the voice of truth, but in the complaints of his people: rarely, I confess, can the rays of truth preserve their native colour

colour through the various tinging medium of courtly adulation : but far more rarely can the moderation of its voice be distinguished, amidst the all-confounding din of clamorous dissencion. The serene, untroubled surface of a smooth sea, may present the attentive admirer with the just images of reflected objects ; but the noisy billows of an agitated ocean, can only serve to shock the bewildered imagination of an observer, with the frightful forms of hideous distortion. Thus, the tumultuous flowings of Junius's disordered zeal, at one moment present us with the picture of a well-intentioned prince, suddenly jumbled into contact with the horrid portrait of malice and ingratitude ; and at another, raise a conflict betwixt our amazement and

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indignation, to behold a sovereign acknowledged in one period to possess a heart so intentionally good, almost instantaneously transformed into a figure, so frightfully resembling the worst of dreadful evils, a tyrant. It is with remorse we, on this occasion, acknowledge a singular instance of the frailties of human nature; which subject men to the compulsive operation of an influence betraying itself in such inconsistent shapes; and with reluctance, the first emotion of our hearts, resolving itself into the distinct channels of contempt and pity, permits us, whilst we separate the abilities of the writer from the wild transports of an exasperated partisan; to lament, that such an easy elegance of stile, should have sunk itself into the vile prostitute
of

of so flagitious and baneful a purpose. The candour, however, of an honest man must allow, that, amidst all the deep designing efforts of a Junius's too-masterly attack upon the peace and liberties of his country, there is one extraordinary circumstance, for which we may hold ourselves indebted either to his modesty, his principles, or perhaps to his art itself: it matters not whether the first would not permit him to attempt the contortion of such inconsistencies into the outward frame of argument; or whether, through the second, he neglected the attempt; or whether (which perhaps is the most probable conclusion of the three) the same abilities which were capable of framing, were sensible of their insufficiency to support, representations

tions of so extravagant a complection. The power of mirrors, combined by a skilful artist, may present a variety of the most phantastical, lively, and apparently realized images, to the wonder of an astonished beholder; but should sophistry attempt to whisper him, that such forms were known to nature as the children of real existence, his simplicity would recoil at the imposition; and his admiration of the artist's talent would that instant lose itself in the fulness of indignant resentment, at the insolence of the designing impostor. To an apprehension of this sort I shall therefore ascribe our obligation to Junius, when we find him resting his whole credit and success upon the easy expression and elegant turns of his neatly-worded conclusions,

clusions; without a single glance of attention to their truth, propriety, or force. A striking instance or two more of this truth, Junius, in addition to the flagrant ones already adduced, may serve at once to apologize for the moderation with which an injured fellow-subject now treats you; at the same time that it will afford a most complete opportunity of exposing to some unsuspecting, misguided folks, the futility of those means, which even allowed abilities must stoop to, when they take upon themselves the propagation of doctrines, so palpably subversive of the well-being of those very disciples to whom they preach them. To this purpose, I need but cast my eyes on your description of the celebrated hero of modern patriotism;

whose unbounded latitude and universality of principles (*you inform us*) does not a whit exceed the extravagance of that spirit, with which he thinks proper to maintain them : a being whose Catechism (*we are given to understand*) permits him to revel in every instance of political enormity, with the same degree of freedom and indifference with which he thinks himself intitled to indulge in all the ruinous extremes of private profligacy. A character of so black a dye, that even the abilities of our great Sophister himself, cannot state his case, or offer the partial defence his character admits of ; in more favourable terms ; than by publicly informing the world, there is not an excess in private life (*which is as much as to say*) towards a wife, a parent, a child,

child, a servant, a neighbour, &c. from the exercise of which he esteems himself under any sort of restraint; nor any extreme in political principles (*that is*) against the constitution, the sovereign, the magistrates, the laws, the members of a state, &c. which he could not with the like easy indifference of conscience, embrace, prosecute, and maintain. A man, who to sum your own account of him; if stripped of those mischievous enthusiastical attributes, which he so abundantly derives from the legal penalties incurred in his *noble* martyrdom to licentiousness: is a senator without speech; although not quite destitute of such a share of periodical eloquence, as may serve to subscribe his honourable signature to, in the edifying

edifying legislative page of a weekly paper !

— *Risum teneatis amici?*

Equally indignant with yourself, believe me, are most of his majesty's subjects, to find government so long engaged in such a struggle; and every power of administration too feeble to suppress the dangerous efforts of a man, who, Junius himself hath told us; dares, from extensive principle, attempt any thing. Nor is it without the deepest sentiments of regret, we can observe, the loudly-provoked indignation of our calumniated sovereign, hitherto capable of effecting little else; than to render this flagitious object more conspicuously

euously notorious ; without impressing a single lineament of that penitential sense, which society, ere this, might have reaped the blessings of ; had it not been for the charitable interposition of some enthusiastic subjects, who, in the zeal of their devotion to *patriotism* ; have thought it their duty to intercept and dissipate, instead of assisting to converge the just rays of legal chastisement.

Whether the above remarkable character of Mr. Wilkes, which is not one syllable more, Junius, than the literal translation ; the direct interpretation of your own words ; which the understanding of every intelligent reader must necessarily supply, and present to his view as he reads them ; and with

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which every retail dictionary of the English language will readily furnish, even those unto whom the import of common English words may be something of a mystery. Whether this character, I say, was really the invidious stroke of rivalry ; or the honest blunder of a friendly intention ; must be left to the discussion of such who may hold the inquiry worthy their regard. I shall content myself with observing upon the author, as well as the object of this wonderful negative vindication ; that astonishment itself almost exceeds the bounds of measure, when we hear the same breath enumerating a train of these enormous qualities, and calling upon its sovereign, in an insolent peremptory tone, to pardon
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the man who possesseth them; upon the ridiculous, the monstrous supposition, of his being an object of too much consequence for the condign penalties of offended laws; and of too little for the aggravated notice of an insulted magistrate. Whether the colour of such sentiments is more ridiculous, than the state of things which gave them birth is lamentable, may be difficult to say; the stile, however, and spirit, in which they are delivered, must certainly intitle the author to the favour of his patrons (if such there can be!) on the score of this singular merit. *Est quidquam prodire tenus si non dariur ultra!*

Thus far contempt has for a while given place to the satisfaction of our curiosity; in observing

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how nearly sophistry and absurdity are allied, and how easily ill-designing artifice is disrobed of her tinsel'd mantle, by the slightest apposition of plain consistency, that never-failing touch-stone of truth, and an honest garb.

But when the eye descends to your succeeding paragraphs, daring Junius, the case assumes an aspect big with all the serious terrors of a real alarm. When we find the furious spirit of disappointed faction, levelling its right hand at the throne itself; and, in the horrid language of menace, publicly arraigning a sovereign, and treacherously charging him with taking part against his people, in an actual contention for their rights! When we hear supreme magistracy

magistracy itself, most infamously assailed ; with a proud imperious injunction, to pay implicit obedience to the haughty voice of an insulting Junius ; upon the pain of incurring, by an ill-timed disobedience, the forfeiture of every title to assistance, favour, or reception, throughout almost every corner of his extensive dominions ! When a gracious prince, and his liege subjects, are represented as opposed to each other, in the dreadful array of hostile minds : and one half of a people are directed to hold the other half in the vilest suspicion and contempt ! When every *glorious* candidate for freedom, is taught, to regard his magistrate as his enemy ; his representative as his betrayer ; and every department of government

ment, as an oppressive cabal of ill-intentioned knaves ! When every species of human harmony, is insidiously undermined by the vilest insinuation, the foulest aspersions, the most daring falsehoods, that miscreant abilities can give existence to : and every engine of discord, every incentive to sedition, rolled through a heightened succession of exulting periods ! if then, indeed, the human frame can so far sustain the shock of its honest emotion, as to keep it within the moderate bounds of words ; it can only proceed from the strictest reverence and condescension to those august laws, up to which it looks with an eye of the most solicitous expectation, as the ready, the effectual avengers of such

such enormous, such iniquitous attempts.

Surely the sound of such alarms must shake the spirit of the most discontented bigot : kindle some sparks of apprehension in the ice-clad breast of a *very* infidel to danger : and impress, in some degree, on their awakened minds, the outlines of those horrid purposes ; to which the designing movers of sedition mean to avail themselves, as well of the deluded enthusiasm of the one, as of the deep-lulled insensibility of the other.

Is our patience to be seriously told ; that the uncontrovertable, constitutional rights, of the best part of his majesty's subjects ; are to be wantonly sacrificed, as a suitable

suitable atonement, for an indiscrete step, into which a disordered ministry may have been hurried, by the insupportable, riotous proceedings of a factious, headstrong opposition ? Are all the most sober and respectful members of the community, who have, in legal form, established their several representatives; so soon to behold the legal result of their election, at one abrupt shock, rescinded and annulled ; in compliance to the haughty clamour of a noisy, licentious crew ? for no other reason, than because the moderate, cautious disposition of the former, forbids them to engage with the latter, in the noisy contention of clamorous petitions ; or increase, by the sulphur of declared opposition, those dissentious flames ; which

which might otherwise, perhaps, expire of themselves, or yield to an easy extinction, through the exhausted insufficiency of their present fuel ? Shall a set of *worthy* constituents, who aim at nothing more than to procure themselves an opportunity, every month in the year, of receiving the beneficial wages of their *patriotic, nice-distinguishing* votes, be taught to flatter themselves a sovereign can mistake their outcry for the language of a people ? or conceive, that a voice, which so loudly contradicts itself, as within the period of a year or two to depute a representation and then to disclaim it ; can proceed from the general sense of his people, or from any sense at all that merits his favourable attention ? If such caprice

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exist with respect to one of the three supreme estates of the constitution, tell us what security can be given, that the same spirit may not be hereafter extended to either of the other two? and that an unreasonable cabal, who shall be induced, by the success of a bold attempt, to imagine they have a right, at their own discretion, to cancel and abrogate the trust delegated to a house of commons; may not hereafter extend the same doctrine to that allegiance, which every member owes to the supreme magistrate himself?

— *Dii talem avertite casum,
Et placidi servate pios!*

Can there be a British soul, who placeth so slight a value on those in-

inestimable, those characteristic blessings of this country, his FREEDOM and his PROPERTY; or is so grossly ignorant of the two great pillars which support them, INVIOABLE SANCTITY of laws, and the moderated power of a WELL-BALANCED MAGISTRACY; as not to shudder at the thoughts of feeling the utmost stretch of royal prerogative exerted in any instance, but where the imminent danger, and desperate necessity of the case, leave no alternative, but inevitable ruin ? In the last extremity of an expiring constitution, such a revulsion might be expedient and justifiable, howsoever the distressed hand of the physician might tremble as he prescribed it, or the mournful friends of their country await the doubtful operation of its violence,

in the utmost solicitude of fearful despairing wishes. But certainly the application of so desperate a remedy, in any less desperate case, could, even in the most favourable Fig. to be considered as nothing else than the blindfold resource of the most illiterate, intemperate quack.

Bitterly grating to the reluctant palate of every free-born subject, must be the thought of a power, capable in one instant of stripping him of his legislative voice, and telling him, *some other voice may please better.* Yet such is that occasional power of dissolving a parliament, which Junius now commands his sovereign to exercise. Nor will it be any argument to the purpose, if we are told, the well-known gracious disposition of our present sovereign

vereign must necessarily keep us free from every suspicion of those effects, which in general may justly render the unusual exercise of such power an object of our most serious apprehensions. The most pernicious draught may, in some cases, be salutary ; but every dose we then swallow, as it diminisheth the reluctant terror with which we behold the cup that contains it ; so it renders us less apprehensive of its use in other cases, where possibly it may prove fatal. Thus it happens with those tremendous ultimate powers of a state, which, though equally beneficial as necessary, when confined to the stated limits of a regular exertion ; nevertheless become highly precarious at least, generally very destructive, when irregularly put into motion.

Every

Every instance of this sort of exertion, by how much the more inoffensive it proves in its immediate particular consequences, by so much the more dangerous ought we to esteem its general extensive effects ; for whilst its capacity to oppress continues just the same, our apprehensive notions of it are lessened ; and where one prejudicial experience of it might have secured us from its worse effects, by rendering us more wary and suspicious of its use for the future ; each instance of its harmless exercise, must on the contrary, serve to wean us to such an indifferent opinion of its nature, as may render us more effectually the secure objects of some future exertion.

It

It were therefore highly incumbent on those, who are so strenuously endeavouring to reconcile the minds of their deluded citizens and countrymen, to the irregular exertion of a power of so doubtful and hazardous a nature; first, to convince them their affairs are reduced to that deplorable state, that their only hopes or chance of preserving one part of the constitution, rests wholly in their submission to so violent a shock upon the other. Till this is done; till an infidious brood of peace-disturbing monsters, have first involved their countrymen in general ruin, and then exulted in the horrid demonstration of its certainty; till that dreadful period shall arrive; trust me, Junius, no genuine son of freedom dare wish to be a spectator of the unne-

cessary and doubtful use of so powerful an application.

No, Junius, the generous credit we pay, to the good intentions of our gracious sovereign animates our breasts with the fullest persuasion; that he will meet each terrific hydra of sedition, in the character of an offended magistrate, and the provoked guardian of an injured people; solicitous to avert the baneful purposes of discontented ambition, and disappointed pride, by convincing his subjects, that, in spite of seditious clamour, or the haughty menaces of an imperious dictator, the laws shall pursue their ordinary, their long-established course, and the supreme estates of the constitution retain their essential dignity, authority, and importance, by being preserved

preserved in their constitutional, their legal stability, and permanency; and not be ignominiously suffered to dwindle into idle chaff, before the indignant breath of every blustering hero of sedition.

The event will, I trust, convince the world ; that the same fortune, which made him king, made all his sober subjects in duty and affection his children and his friends ; by whose faithful services, and assistance, the arrogant front of impetuous unrelenting faction, shall soon be compelled, with reluctant penitence, to acknowledge, that a Revolution brought about by the laudable spirit of maintaining our civil and religious rights ; can, by no insidious art in the world, be

F wretched

wrested into the appearance of a precedent, for attempting another upon the diametrically contrary principles, of subverting all subordination, order, and distinction, tearing up every pillar of government by the roots, and on its ruins establishing confusion, anarchy, and universal distraction.

Then will even Junius himself, I hope, be brought to confess, that, notwithstanding it may be possible to point out some men of so inhuman a cast, who had rather subvert every species of government whatever, than not have the despotic management thereof in their own hands ; yet the common feelings and necessities of the human frame leave it not to the generality of mankind, to be so lost to the ultimate,

ultimate, the most essential requisite of their own security and well-being, as not to pass over some foibles, equally incident to the prince as the peasant ; to the magistrate as the individual ; rather than precipitately and blindly resolve on the destruction of government in the lump, from a *patriotic* spirit of resentment, at not discovering in MAGISTRATES the attributes of ANGELS.

F I N I S.







